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A View on the Political Trend of the Second KMT-CPC Cooperation From “Chongqing Negotiation”

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Abstract

After the success of Anti-Japanese war, China faced the threats of “civil war, dictatorship and splitting”. KMT and CPC conducted Chongqing Negotiation to establish a coalition government to lead the post-war political development. However, due to KMT’s political strategy of civil war, it attempted to wipe out CPC while negotiating. In response to KMT’s civil war strategy, CPC adopted the political strategy of fighting a war while negotiating, and striving for the intermediary powers to counter it. Finally, the results achieved in Chongqing Negotiation were submerged in the full-blown civil war between KMT and CPC.

Key words: Chongqing Negotiation; KMT-CPC cooperation; Political trend

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INTRODUCTION

After the success of Anti-Japanese war, China faced the threats of “civil war, dictatorship and splitting”. The policy of “peace, democracy and solidarity” put forward by the CPC Central Committee has been generally recognized by the society. KMT and CPC signed the *October 10th Agreement* in Chongqing Negotiation, which confirmed the policy of “peace, democracy and solidarity” and the democratic process as the basic trend of the post-war

political development in China. However, due to the rise of KMT authoritarian force, it exposed its political stance of stubbornly adhering to one-party dictatorship, personal dictatorship and civil war, seriously violated the spirit of five agreements of the Political Consultative Conference, undermined the peaceful and democratic process, broke the basis of KMT-CPC cooperation, abandoned the possibility of peace negotiation unilaterally, and resulted in China’s falling into the abyss of full-blown civil war.

1. CHONGQING NEGOTIATION: DOMESTIC CONSENSUS OF “PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOLIDARITY”

On August 28th, 1938 afternoon, the delegation of CPC by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei, etc. accompanied by Hurley and Zhang Zhizhong arrived in Chongqing from Yan’an by flight. KMT and CPC started negotiations from August 29th and signed the *October 10th Agreement* on October 10th, lasting 43 days. According to the relevant issues and progress, the negotiations can be divided into three stages:

The first stage: exchange of views (August 29th to September 3rd): The leaders of the two parties met directly, established the principle of negotiation; the representatives of the two parties had free exchanges on the issues of negotiation necessity, principles, guidelines, procedures and contents, etc.. On the first day of the negotiation, Jiang Jieshi firstly proposed that “China does not have a civil war”, trying to deny the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist army. Mao Zedong immediately cited a large number of facts in decades of civil war and the Sino-Japanese War to refute, “Saying that China has no civil war is a deceit.” (CPC Central Committee Literature, para.2, 1994, p.17)

Against the six requirements in the *Declaration on the Current Political Situation* published by CPC, Jiang Jieshi

made three principles to the KMT representatives: a). Must not discuss the issue of government reorganization in addition to the governance of existing government, namely, hold so-called party conferences, discuss national affairs or organize a coalition government; b) Must not solve problems by stages or in part, but solve all problems in one time; c) Because of the unity of government decree and military command, all problems shall be resolved around this center (Taipei National Museum of History, 2011, p.377). This has set the tone for the expected negotiation and results for Kuomintang.

On August 30th, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai drew up 11 programs for Chongqing Negotiation, namely: achieve unification of China based on peace, democracy and solidarity; support Mr. Jiang, acknowledge Mr. Jiang's leadership in China; recognize KMT, CPC and the equal legal status of Anti-Japanese parties; recognize the achievements and legal status of the forces in the liberated areas and local authorities in the Sino-Japanese War; punish traitors, dissolve puppet armies; cease all armed conflicts; democratize politics; re-elect the National Assembly; implement local self-government; troops in the liberated areas should be reorganized into 48 armies and 16 divisions; establish Peking administrative office and northern political committee (CPC Central Committee Literature, para.2, 1994, pp.18-19). They prepared to submit the programs to KMT to define CPC's position and negotiation direction, test the attitude of KMT and gain the reply. On September 3rd, the CPC representatives Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei formally proposed the above 11 programs to the KMT representatives.

The second stage: negotiations on details (September 4th to October 5th). Within the framework of the above-mentioned "three principles" and "four points" of Jiang Jieshi, "eight principles" of Mao Zedong, based on the "eleven programs" of CPC, the representatives of the two parties had negotiations on specific issues. Within 32 days, Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei carried out 12 rounds of difficult negotiations with the KMT representatives and some democrats including Zhang Qun, Shao Lizi, Zhang Zhizhong, Zhang Lisheng and Ye Chucang, etc..

The third stage: Agreements have been signed and confirmed (October 6th to October 10th). The achievements of Chongqing Negotiation include the peaceful founding principle, political consultative conference, national assembly (postponed, old represents are valid but the number needs to be increased), partisan legalization, political democratization, nationalization of army, equal cooperation between parties and other issues. CPC has achieved many results by carrying out extensive work to cooperate with the negotiations. For example, from September 10th to October 12th, the Eighth Route Army 129th division decisively and fruitfully fought back Yan Xishan army's large-scale provocation in Shangdang area; During the negotiations in Chongqing, Mao Zedong spared all time and took every opportunity

to meet, visit and condole people of all social circles at home and abroad, including Kuomintang members, nationalist government officials (including the resolute anti-communist Chen brothers), leaders and members of the main middle parties, ordinary people, industrial workers, ambassadors to China (consuls) and even ordinary soldiers, listened to opinions and suggestions widely on the KMT-CPC negotiation and domestic political situation, and actively promoted CPC's policy and advocacy of "peace, democracy and solidarity". All these efforts jointly promoted the unsatisfactory negotiation outcome to be reached by KMT and CPC. On October 10th, in the living room of Guiyuan, No. 107, Zhongshansi Road, the representatives of KMT and CPC including Wang Shijie, Zhang Qun, Zhang Zhizhong, Shao Lizi, Zhou Enlai and Wang Ruofei signed successively on the *Minutes of the Meeting between the Government and the Representatives of CPC* (also known as the *October 10th Agreement*) which was drafted by Zhou Enlai. Next day, Mao Zedong and Wang Ruofei flew back to Yan'an by accompany of Zhang Zhizhong.

2. POLITICAL MODE OF BUILDING A COALITION GOVERNMENT

From January 10th to 31st 1946, the Political Consultative Conference of KMT, CPC, the Democratic League, the Youth Party and community leaders was held in Chongqing. Under the joint efforts of CPC, middle parties and personages without party affiliation, this conference has identified the post-war democratic political system based on the Chinese regime of parliamentary system, cabinet system and provincial autonomism, confirmed the peaceful democratic new procedure mode from tutelage to constitutionalism, and defined the principles, approaches and objectives for the post-war political development of China.

2.1 CPC Implemented the Political Strategy of "Fight Wars While Negotiating"

After Chongqing Negotiation, although the negotiations between KMT and CPC continued, the US policy changed from "foster Jiang and use CPC" during the war to "support Jiang and suppress CPC"; Jiang Jieshi never gave up the attempt to suppress CPC, but it's also impossible for him to defy the public will, publicly tear up the *October 10th Agreement* and launch a brutal civil war. Therefore, during this time there was a co-existence of peace and war in the relationship between KMT and CPC, namely temporarily leant to peace, temporarily leant to war, war brewed in peace, and peace brewed in war. In view of this situation, CPC decided to negotiate based on the basic policy of opposing civil war, fighting for democracy and peace, and implemented the political strategy of "negotiating while fighting a war".

Under the organization, leadership and active promotion of the Southern Bureau, people of all social circles in Chongqing and in the rear area increasingly called for democracy, called for a speedy convening of the political Consultative Conference, establishment of a democratic coalition government and solution of the major national problems. After Chongqing Negotiation, the Chinese people's movements for abolition of KMT one-party dictatorship, opposition to civil war, and seeking peace and democracy rose one after another. In this regard, KMT government took the repressive policy of spy ruling, but the Southern Bureau actively organized the movements of anti-civil war, anti-dictatorship and seeking democracy. In mid-November 1945, under the promotion of CPC, leaders of various middle parties in Chongqing including Zhang Lan, Shen Junru and Huang Yanpei, etc. initiated to establish "Anti-Civil War Union of All Social Circles in the Provisional Capital" and on the 19th held an anti-civil war conference attended by 500 people in the Southwest Industrial Building, calling on people of all social circles and taxpayers to strike, boycott classes, refuse to participate in civil war or pay taxes, take their own practical actions to stop the civil war, to promote the earliest establishment of a coalition government and lay foundation for a lasting domestic peace.

2.2 Confirmation on the Policy of the Coalition Government

From internal logic of the five agreements of the Political Consultative Conference, or the procedure design, the Political Consultative Conference identified a new mode to realize democratic politics under the current situation. That is, firstly develop a common program in the Political Consultative Conference; then reorganize Kuomintang government based on the common program, making it a coalition government co-organized by all parties; the coalition government convene a national assembly, make a constitution; finally, according to the constitution, establish a democratically elected government, implement constitutionalism and lead the national construction. In accordance with the principles of the procedural law, this procedure must be completed gradually in due order; if any step is omitted or the order is reversed, it will be illegal. This procedure mode is consistent with the traditional advocacy of CPC on the final direction of election and democracy, but in view of the realities of division of various political forces and possible outbreak of civil war, it was adjusted according to the step design for coalition government proposed by Mao Zedong. Therefore, it is a new procedure mode different from the democratic procedure mode of Europe, USA and the Soviet Union, and also different from the previous democratic procedure mode of CPC. This mode, after one and a half years' repeated struggles, has been eventually approved by all parties in the Political Consultative

Conference. This mode also affects the content of substantive laws, namely, replace electoral democracy with deliberative democracy, set up a temporary party coalition government as a transitional form to guide China's democratic process to fundamental democratic election, and establish a democratically elected government. This mode, undoubtedly, was far-reaching for its Chinese characteristics, and was called by CPC and middle parties as the line of Political Consultative Conference. Since the Political Consultative Conference was held under a circumstance without a constitution or a democratically elected government, in accordance with one of the connotations of democratic politics, namely the specification of political party politics, by the negotiation result of the two largest political parties in China at the time and attended by all major political parties as well as independents to determine the future democratic politics of China, it reflected far more comprehensive and adequate opinions of the public than KMT and its government, and legally, its level should be higher than the KMT government. As a concentrated reflection of wills of various political parties, its agreements should be higher than the laws published by the KMT government in legal level and have the highest authority. This determines the legitimacy of achieving democratic politics in accordance with the mode specified by the Political Consultative Conference, namely the line of the Conference, and also determines that if violate this mode, namely the line of the Conference, it will be illegal (Hu, 2008, pp.336-337).

3. KMT'S POLITICAL STRATEGY OF CIVIL WAR AND RUPTURE OF THE SECOND KMT-CPC COOPERATION

Political Consultative Conference, as a blueprint for the post-war democratic constitutionalism in China, reflects the time theme of "democratic unity, peaceful reconstruction", and meets ordinary people's expectation for peace and democracy. However, the Second Plenary Session of the Sixth KMT Central Committee totally neglected the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, conducted a series of retroactions including dispatching troops in the Northeast China and illegally convening a "National Assembly", which not only exposed its political stance of stubbornly adhering to the established policies of one-party dictatorship, personal dictatorship and civil war, but also seriously violated the spirit of five agreements of the Political Consultative Conference, undermined the peaceful and democratic process, shook the foundation of KMT-CPC cooperation, completely unilaterally closed the door of peaceful talks, and made China fall into the abyss of full-blown civil war.

3.1 KMT's Dictatorship and CPC's "Parliamentary Struggle"

Signing of five agreements of the Conference and closure of the meetings made the war-torn Chinese people see a dawn to build a peaceful, united and democratic China. The CPC Central Committee sincerely approved and supported the conference resolutions, not only authorized the delegation to sign various agreements, but also made the important judgment that "from now on China steps onto a new phase of peaceful and democratic construction" (CPC Central Committee Party, para.3, 1987, p.186). For this purpose, CPC has made a political strategy to mainly lead people's movements and insist on parliamentary struggles during the period. On February 1st, 1946, the CPC Central Committee issued *An Instruction on the Current Situation and Tasks*, clarifying that because of the conclusion of five resolutions and the gradual implementation, KMT's one-party dictatorship and Jiang Jieshi's dictatorship would come to an end, and China would embark on a new phase of peaceful and democratic construction; Therefore, the main struggle form of Chinese revolution led by CPC "now has been transformed into unarmed parliament struggles from the armed struggles, and the domestic problems shall be resolved by political means. The Party's all work must adapt to this new situation." (CPC Central Committee Literature, para.2, 1994, p.55) On February 9th when Mao Zedong talked with the Associated Press reporters, he publicly stated, "Political Consultative Conference's results are satisfactory and exciting, but we will still prepare for the upcoming disaster. I believe all obstacles can be removed."

In general, China has completed the task of stepping onto the democratic stage. During the period of the envoy Marshall promoted China to stop the civil war, promoted China's unity, peace and democracy, his efforts cannot be underestimated. In fact, China's restoring peace and establishing a democratic government is also favorable to the world.

"Every party's current task should focus on fulfilling various resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, organizing a constitutional government and implementing economic revival. CPC is preparing to contribute to this task." (Ibid., p.56) Therefore, the CPC Central Committee frankly, clearly and completely indicated the principles, policies and implementary steps to be executed after the Political Consultative Conference at home and abroad.

During the Political Consultative Conference session, the CPC Central Committee Chongqing Bureau (restored name of the Southern Bureau after December 1945) routinely mobilized the masses and various political forces to support and cooperate with the Conference. For example, in order to promote success of the Conference, various political parties set up a provisional capital promotion association, which gave daily lectures or reports in the Cangbai hall, invited deputies to report the

conference progress, and promoted the advocacy of peace and democracy. KMT constantly sent spies to trouble the venue, abuse, beat the hosts and audiences, track and insult the deputies. Especially when Liang Shuming made report on January 19th, 1946, KMT spies created mayhem for five times, shouted out "support KMT" and "Down with other parties", etc., causing flying rocks and firecrackers in the hall. Many people were injured and the speech couldn't continue. In the night when "Jiaochangkou Massacre" took place, China Democratic League called the Political Consultative Conference delegates to hold an emergency meeting. More than ten people including Zhou Enlai, Deng Yingchao, Sun Ke and Shao Lizi, etc. attended the meeting. Zhou Enlai, Zhang Junmai, Chen Qitian and Li Zhuchen were elected to negotiate with Jiang Jieshi, and a joint protest letter signed by Shen Junru, Zhang Junmai, Zhou Enlai, Dong Biwu, Wang Ruofei, Li Zhuchen, Liang Shuming, Zhang Bojun, Zhang Shenfu and Luo Longji was brought to Jiang Jieshi. If above violation of the Conference agreement is an individual action by a particular group of KMT, considering maintaining the overall situation, CPC adopted a policy of distinction. However, with the opening of the Second Plenary Session of KMT Sixth Central Committee and the Second Session of the Fourth Political Council and formation of the resolutions, KMT began to totally break the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference, destroyed the post-war democratic political process in China, and stubbornly restarted the political strategy of "one-party dictatorship and personal dictatorship".

3.2 KMT's Political Strategy Is to "Negotiate While Fighting a War" With CPC

When KMT Second Plenary Session tore up the Political Consultative Conference agreements, resulting in draft constitution amendment and government reorganization falling into a deadlock, there were also intense armed conflicts between KMT and CPC on the Northeast China problem.

After the Political Consultative Conference, CPC's policy on the Northeast China problem was to uphold political negotiations, but it was assertively rejected by KMT. On March 27th, KMT and CPC signed the *Agreement to Mediate Armistice in Northeast China*, providing that

- a) The executive group's mandate is limited to military mediations; b) The group should work in the government army and the region where CPC forces stationed, and avoid entering the region where the Soviet army stationed; c) The group should go to the conflict sites or the sites where the government army and CPC forces have intense fires, and make any necessary and fair mediation to stop the conflict.

Two points in the annex: "a) On the Northeast military issue, the three people conference shall continue negotiations; b) The Northeast political issue shall be discussed separately for a fast solution" (Qin, 1981, p.320).

Therefore, a peaceful settlement between the two sides on Northeast China was not without a slim chance.

Afterwards, when Jiang Jieshi received the commitment from USA government of further transporting 50,000 soldiers to the Northeast China, his attitude became more aggressive and on April 1st, he began to categorically deny that Northeast problem belonged to domestic affairs in the National Political Council, denied the basic facts of Northeast Democratic Allied Army and Northeast democratically elected government, accused CPC's proposal of peacefully resolving the Northeast problem as "seeking interest of a private party and ignoring survival of the country." (Chongqing City CPPCC Committee, para.4, 1985, pp.1538-1541) Jiang Jieshi's irresponsible speech angered CPC's leaders, and CPC quickly adjusted the policy on the Northeast to "promote negotiations by fighting". On April 5th, the CPC Central Committee sent a telegraph to Zhou Enlai, requiring to "make comprehensive plan to smash attacks of the reactionaries" on the Northeast problem, "should prepare for big battles, do not fancy that KMT will make concessions" (CPC Central Committee Literature, para.2, 1998, p.672). The next day, Jiang Jieshi gave orders twice to Xiong Shihui, "our army should concentrate all efforts to deploy the most powerful force to the North, in order to firstly destroy the CPC troops at south of Siping Street," "the Northeast should concentrate all powers to break CPC forces at south of Siping street, then it will be easy to take over the Northeast." (Taipei National Museum of History, 2011, p.281, 287) Since then, KMT and the CPC both took military means to resolve the Northeast problem, thus a large-scale civil war was ignited in Northeast China. On June 26th 1946, KMT army attacked CPC's central China liberated area, leading to a full outbreak of civil war. Thus, the second civil war replaced the second KMT-CPC cooperation.

In summary, the second KMT-CPC cooperation ended in war, and KMT chose the political policy of a full-blown

civil war. Jiang Jieshi finally claimed that CPC was the real enemy of KMT, and to completely eliminate CPC, they would launch comprehensive struggles in politics, economy, culture, education and all aspects of the society. In other words, KMT had no intention of peace talks, but determined to speak by military strength to achieve the political goals. CPC had to adjust political strategies, although still made efforts for negotiations, which could only be a cooperation for the actual big battles. In fact CPC's political strategy for the establishment of a coalition government of "peace, democracy and solidarity" has never changed.

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